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The Commonweal

February 2, 1951

JACQUES MARITAIN

The Problem of Means

How Can the People Control the State?

The Decline of Distributism

DONALD ATTWATER

Unions in the South

JOHN C. CORT

Volume LIII **15c** *Number 17*

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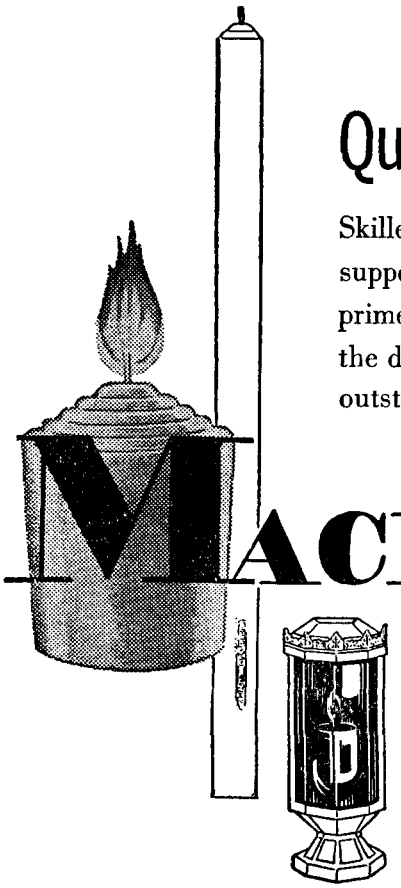

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The Commonweal

WEEK BY WEEK

Sanctions

THE pressure on Washington to punish the Chinese Communists is hard to withstand. Resentment over Chinese intervention in the war in Korea and their turning of a striking UN-US victory into a bitter defeat is nationwide. Our casualties continue to mount. Despite his recent backhanded offer, Mao has consistently rejected every reasonable proposal to negotiate and he holds out for impossible terms. The Administration is pushed more and more toward an unyielding and retaliatory policy in the UN by its political opponents. Mr. Acheson and his confrères are attacked constantly as appeasers.

In America today the man in the street can be heard almost invariably to demand retaliation upon China itself. Bombs dropped on Manchurian plants and arms depots and on the few railroads they have would, it is said, soon put the Chinese in their place. There is a feeling that it's high time we showed them where to get off. They can't go on killing our boys and not be made to pay. That is the general sentiment and it is one of the strongest motives behind American pressure in the UN to brand China as the aggressor that she is and to apply economic, diplomatic and military sanctions.

Would such a policy be in the national interest? Its advocates can point to losses and withdrawals of some of China's best troops as a result of recent Korean fighting. They can maintain that the casualties we have inflicted have kept the Chinese from expanding into Southeast Asia. If, then, we were really to cripple their source of supply by bombing and isolate them by sea through a blockade, so the argument goes, the rest of Asia might be saved from Communism.

With his normal diffidence toward the news and his lack of a sense of history, it is difficult to convince the average citizen of the lack of wisdom of such a course. Yet it is up to Mr. Truman and his policy-makers to withstand the pressure and to build up a much wider understanding of the only way the United States and the other free nations can defend themselves.

The first thing to make clear is the cosmic nature of the revolt in Asia. After centuries of colonial exploitation the native peoples are everywhere in revolt against domination by the West. Perhaps American companies are more to blame for it than our government—doubtless, also, our long association with France and Britain is at fault—but the United States constitutes one of those forces against which Asia is up in arms. (We even supply reason for resentment now by hesitating to provide grain which India requests to prevent a major famine.)

To think, then, that India and other non-Communist nations of the East would support a "limited war" on China, and vote for it in the UN, is a delusion. The havoc that has been wrought among millions of Koreans persuades Asiatic nations to accept rebuff after rebuff from the Chinese Communists in their frantic efforts to halt the Korean war. They are unalterably opposed to taking steps that would extend the war to China itself.

A sanctions policy likewise finds little support among the French and British and others of the West. More than any other power, Britain has vital commercial and political stakes in the Orient she is unwilling to jeopardize further. Despite the widespread desire for collective security, too many nations flatly oppose sanctions to make such a proposal worth pushing. Our insistence would only generate hard feelings.

STRATEGICALLY the conclusion is the same. Our effort must be concentrated on defending Western Europe. Without the heavy industry of Europe (and the oil fields of the Middle East) Soviet Russia could not sustain a long offensive. But economic and military sanc-

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• NEXT WEEK •

ROBERT BARRAT has recently been traveling in the Sahara and he reports some of his impressions.

"The first illusion to go is that the desert is monotonous. It might have been possible to get that impression fifty years ago when the only means of transport was a camel; at that time crossing the sands of the Grand Erg or the rocky plateau of the Tademait took from eight to ten days. But in a truck today it hardly takes forty-eight hours. From Algiers to Fort-Lamy new vistas presented themselves every day to our dazzled eyes."

tions against China would inevitably lead to a major war and a dissipation of our limited forces.

Our defense policy is still oriented toward Europe. We must keep it there. The nation's plight demands firmness against steps that mean deeper involvement in Asia; it also calls for an effective campaign of political instruction from the government. People will in time see the point.

A Personal Note

FEBRUARY is annually designated as Catholic Press month, a good time to take a look at THE COMMONWEAL and at ourselves as Catholic journalists. We distinguish between ourselves and THE COMMONWEAL because though the magazine at any given week may seem to be identical with those editing it, the staff changes from time to time, new names appear on the masthead, and yet THE COMMONWEAL goes on.

For more than a quarter of a century now the magazine has appeared every week, never without something of a struggle and always within the limitations placed on it by a small circulation, a drastically limited budget and an inability to go out into the journalistic market-place and bargain on equal terms with the giants. Somehow it has survived. The patience and generous support of friends, and the work of underpaid editors, business staff, and writers have been enough to keep it going even through the years of depression when several of the present editors and many of the leading contributors were still growing up. The present staff has to rely on this same reservoir of good-will as completely as those who preceded them.

From time to time, in our enthusiasm for a particular issue of the magazine, we have dreams of glory about increasing the circulation to new heights. But in more sober moments we realize that we are faced with pretty much the same problems that fenced in those who went before us. THE COMMONWEAL, as long as it maintains the independent spirit that has given it whatever significance it has in American Catholic life, will probably never be a very popular or profitable project. The most we can hope for is that all its potential circulation will be realized; even that comparatively modest goal would change the whole picture.

THE COMMONWEAL has never looked upon

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circulation and success as ends in themselves. For instance, a magazine deeply concerned with commercial success would not, we suppose, publish the six-and-a-half page study Jacques Maritain has generously contributed to this issue. It would be content with a less thoughtful, more pat solution to the problem of political means. Yet whatever M. Maritain says is important, significant and enlightening, and we conceive of THE COMMONWEAL'S pages as a place where that kind of importance, significance and light is welcomed. We conceive of COMMONWEAL readers as people anxious to think things through, receptive to the opinions of others and guided not by a partisan or sectarian spirit but by a thirst for truth, wherever it is found.

THE COMMONWEAL has not always agreed with the prevailing trend of opinion among other articulate Catholics in this country, and this has sometimes been a source of wonder and mystification to those who think of Catholicism as a giant monolithic force with a united voice on every conceivable temporal, ephemeral and even trivial matter that arises. We do not think we have been any less Catholic because this is so. THE COMMONWEAL has not always been right about the thousands of matters it has dealt with in the past twenty-six years—far from it!—nor has it always succeeded, whatever the ideal, of overcoming its own prejudices. But if nothing else, its presence has been a living argument for the utter catholicity of Catholicism. More than most, the various editors and contributors through the years have resisted whatever seemed to narrow or circumscribe the interests, concerns and genuine freedom of the individual Catholic. That, above all, is a matter for pride in the past and an abiding challenge to the present editors.

When THE COMMONWEAL was founded, the Catholic publication edited by laymen was almost an anomaly in American life. Since that time the role of the layman in the Church, and specifically in Catholic journalism, has been considerably broadened. The appearance of such publications as *The Catholic Worker, Integrity, Today* and the young *Sun-Herald* has revolutionized the concept of Catholic journalism in America, though all these publications are operating within an old European tradition. The lay-edited publications have been remarkably successful in quickening the apostolic spirit and challenging the ancient ennui of the Catholic laity, arousing them to an awareness of their responsibilities as Christians in the modern world. It is readily admitted that they have not always been wise nor wholly balanced—no more than the "official" Catholic press—but they have succeeded in challenging complacency and tapping potentialities not previously dreamed of. It is significant that when Europeans report on the increasing vitality of American Catholic life, they accent the role of the lay-edited journals.

No one is more aware than we of the difficulties and trials that beset the man who tries to serve the Church by lay Catholic journalism. But we have increasing reason to feel that it is not a misspent career and confidence that it is one worthy of the best a man has to give.

Two Systems for TV

PUBLICATION in London of the comprehensive Beveridge Committee of Inquiry report on radio and television emphasizes the marked difference between the British system and our own. The British Broadcasting Corporation operates as a monopoly in both fields and the English apparently want to continue it that way. There are no signs that Americans want to abandon what they consider to be the advantages of radio-TV competition.

In the field of television the difference appears to be the greater. Over there the programs are financed primarily by an annual tax of $5.60 on each owner of a set—a figure that is to be raised to meet increasing costs of production and expansion. There are no commercial sponsors. So far there is only one TV channel.

It is the soap and cigarettes and other things we buy in this country that pay our huge production costs, at times reaching $100,000 a program-hour. The existence of competing channels means a scramble for name stars and constant pressure to outdo one another in variety and originality.

Perhaps the greatest contrast would be found between the typical evening in an American and a British TV home. In the former, the set would be turned on for the duration of the evening. Conversation worthy of the name would be impossible. Fortunate would be the guest who was not subjected to a series of half- or quarter-programs, with the owner switching to this channel and that trying to find something better.

In Britain a sense of variety would be lacking, due to the small number of men responsible for drawing up the programs. Only occasionally would expensive talent make a bow. After the first few

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evenings the tendency would be to turn off the set after a spell and permit family and friends to return to more normal social intercourse.

Neither prospect seems ideal. In its early stages television would seem to require much vaster sums than can be expected of the British taxpayer. In America, on the other hand, where such sums are available, immediate competition directs the bulk of the funds toward supplying more of the same—the stuff which marketing surveys have shown to be sure-fire. Producers here could use more imagination; the BBC could do with bigger funds. There are mountainous handicaps either way.

The Voice of the People

MR. ARNOLD LUNN, who has just returned to Britain from a ten-week visit in the United States, writes in the London *Tablet* that "an American diplomat assured [him] that whereas between the wars the man in the street and the women's clubs had an immense influence in shaping American foreign policy, policy today is determined by the informed minority, excepting perhaps immediately preceding an election."

In a booklet entitled "Our Foreign Policy," prepared and published last September by the State Department, the Department has this to say: "Many people would like to know how and where foreign policy is made. Is it made in the White House? In the State Department? In the Congress? In Middletown, Iowa? Or does it, like Topsy, just grow? The answer to all these questions is 'Yes.'"

The State Department's explanation is a good deal more confusing than the tidy piece of information given Mr. Lunn, but, for better or for worse, it is the only explanation that fits the facts. In times such as these, when policy decisions have to be made swiftly and semi-secretly, it always seems that an informed minority on the inside is shaping the destiny of the newspaper-reading majority, and of course to a great extent that is true. But Middletown never quite loses touch with the inner councils and the pressures it brings to bear on the informed minority are enough to convince the planners that they are not hermetically sealed and safe from public opinion.

American foreign policy is the product of several forces working together in such a precarious fashion that whenever the Congress or Middletown raises its voice on foreign-policy matters, London is just as likely to feel the result, in terms of harmony or discord, as Washington is. When the members of the House of Representatives, acting according to what they thought were the interests and wishes of their constituents, passed a motion recommending that the UN brand Communist China an aggressor, the State Department and its policy were affected by the motion—in this case the Department had already adopted the same policy—and London was at least worried by the mood of the House, because it happens to be long-range British policy to avoid going so far as to invoke unworkable sanctions on the Chinese; and Britain does not want to be separated from the United States on this issue.

It is customary in this country for almost everybody to try to get into the act, in one way or another, and if you were to ask Mr. Acheson, he could no doubt tell you that there is plenty of evidence to prove that the custom is still very much alive. It is not a bad custom, provided only that one does not behave like a show-off and that he has something honest and worthwhile to say when he does get his word in. The right to say something implies an obligation to acquaint oneself with the facts involved and then to pronounce judgment on them carefully. And here, we submit, is where we have been showing our adolescence. The very mention of Mr. Acheson's name usually sends blood pressures soaring, and yet if, as a sort of political Rorschach test, you are to ask the next man you hear pounding Mr. Acheson just why he feels the way he does, you might find it revealing to note carefully how much solid fact and how much bluster there is in his answer. It is simply not fashionable these days to say that although Mr. Acheson may have made some mistakes, he has also made one or two creditable decisions.

It is a grievous and personal misfortune of the times that a good many of Mr. Acheson's countrymen have vented their fury on him without knowing what they are talking about. But in the long run, the misfortune is our own and it will come back on us. Never before has a single nation had to acquaint itself with a more complex set of foreign-policy facts than that which now presents itself to us, and if the Middletown-factor in our planning should in the future generate more steam than sanity, the blow-up will be registered all around the world. It is, any way you look at it, a sobering and a serious responsibility. That, however, is the way we have always wanted it to be.

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The Problem of Means

"The fear of soiling ourselves by entering the context of history is not virtue, but a way of escaping virtue."

By JACQUES MARITAIN

THE PROBLEM of Means is, as I see it, a twofold problem: first, the problem of *End and Means;* second, the problem of *the People and the State,* that is, of the means by which the people can supervise or control the State.

I. END AND MEANS

THE PROBLEM of End and Means is a basic, *the* basic problem in political philosophy. Despite the difficulties involved, its solution is clear and inescapable in the philosophical field; yet, to be applied in the practical field, that solution demanded by truth demands in return from man a kind of heroism and hurls him into anguish and hardship.

What is the final aim and most essential task of the body politic or political society? It is not to ensure the material convenience of scattered individuals, each absorbed in his own well-being and in enriching himself. Nor is it to bring about either industrial mastery over nature, or political mastery over other men.

It is rather to better the conditions of human life itself, or to procure the common good of the multitude, in such a manner that each concrete person, not only in a privileged class but throughout the whole mass, may truly reach that measure of independence which is proper to civilized life and which is ensured alike by the economic guarantees of work and property, political rights, civil virtues, and the cultivation of the mind.

This means that the political task is essentially a task of civilization and culture, of helping man to conquer his genuine freedom of expansion or autonomy, or, as Professor Nef put it, of "making faith, righteousness, wisdom and beauty ends of civilization"; a task of progress in an order which is essentially human or moral, for morality is concerned with nothing else than the true human good.

I should like to add that such a task requires historic achievements on so large a scale and is confronted with such obstacles in human nature that it cannot conceivably succeed—once the good tidings of the Gospel have been announced—without the impact of Christianity on the political life of mankind and the penetration of the Gospel inspiration in the substance of the body politic. As a result we are entitled to state that the end of the Body Politic is by nature something substantially good and ethical, implying, at least among peoples in whom Christianity has taken root, an actual—though doubtless always imperfect—materialization of the Gospel principles in terrestrial existence and social behavior.

And now, what about the means? Do we know, as a universal and inviolable axiom, an obvious primary principle, that means must be proportioned and appropriate to the end, since they are *ways to the end,* so to speak, the end itself in its very process of coming to existence? So that applying intrinsically evil means to attain an intrinsically good end is simply nonsense and a blunder. Yes, we know that, even without the help of Aldous Huxley's remarkable writings. And we know also that men in their practical behavior do not fail, as a rule, to make fun of that obvious and venerable axiom, especially in all that concerns politics. At this point we are faced with the question of the *rationalization of political life.*

It is quite difficult for the rational animal to submit his own life to the yard-stick of reason. It is quite difficult in our individual lives. It is terribly, almost insuperably difficult in the life of the body politic. As regards the rational management of collective and political life, we are still in a pre-historic age indeed.

There are two opposite ways of understanding the rationalization of political life. The easier one—it comes to a bad end—is the *technical* or *"artistic"* one. The more exacting one—but a constructive and progressive one—is the *moral* one. *Technical rationalization,* through means external to man, versus *moral rationalization,* through means which are man himself, his freedom and virtue—such is the drama which human history is facing.

II. THE TECHNICAL RATIONALIZATION OF POLITICAL LIFE

AT THE DAWN of modern science and history, Machiavelli, in his *Prince,* offered us a philosophy of the merely technical rationalization of politics: in other words, he made a rational system out of the manner in which men most often behave in fact, by submitting that behavior to a merely artistic form and merely artistic rules. Thus good politics became by definition non-moral and successful politics: the art of con-

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JACQUES MARITAIN is now a member of the Philosophy Department at Princeton University. This article will be a part of his book, Man and the State, to be published next month by the University of Chicago Press.

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quering and keeping power by any means whatsoever—even good, should an opportunity offer, a rare opportunity—on the sole condition that they be fit to ensure success.

I have tried to discuss Machiavellianism elsewhere. Here I should like only to point out that the great strength of Machiavellianism comes from the incessant victories gained by evil means in the political achievements of mankind, and from the idea that if a prince or a nation respects justice, he or it is doomed to enslavement by other princes or nations trusting only in power, violence, perfidy, and lawless greed.

The answer is, first, that one can respect justice and have brains at the same time, and manage to be strong (I shall return to this point in a moment); second, that in reality Machiavellianism does not succeed. For the power of evil is only, in reality, the power of corruption—the squandering and dissipation of the substance and energy of Being and of Good. Such a power destroys itself in destroying that good which is its subject. So that the inner dialectic of the successes of evil condemns them not to be lasting. Let us take into account the dimension of time, the duration proper to the historical turns of nations and states, which considerably exceeds the duration of a man's life. According to the duration thus required by political reality to mature and fructify, I do not say that a just politics will, even in a distant future, always actually succeed, nor that Machiavellianism will, even in a distant future, always actually fail. For, with nations and states and civilization we are in the order of nature, where mortality is natural and where life and death depend on physical as well as moral causes. I say that justice works through its own causality toward welfare and success in the future, as a healthy sap works toward the perfect fruit, and that Machiavellianism works through its own causality for ruin and bankruptcy, as poison in the sap works for the illness and death of the tree.

The illusion proper to Machiavellianism is the illusion of *immediate success*. The duration of the life of a man, or rather the duration of the activity of the prince, of the political man, circumscribes the maximum length of time required by what I call *immediate success*. Now immediate success is success for a man, it is not success for a state or a nation, according to the duration proper to state-vicissitudes and nation-vicissitudes. The more dreadful in intensity the power of evil appears, the weaker in historic duration are the internal improvements and the vigor of life which have been gained by a state using this power.

The more perfect and ruthless become the techniques of oppression, universal mutual spying, forced labor, mass deportation and mass destruction peculiar to the totalitarian States, the more difficult also becomes any attempt to change or overcome from the outside those gigantic Machiavellian robots. But they do not possess lasting inner force; their huge machinery of violence is a token of their inner human weakness. The breaking down of human freedom and conscience, because it engenders everywhere fear and insecurity, is in itself a process of self-destruction for the body politic. How long, then, can the power of a State endure which becomes more and more of a giant as regards the external or technical forces, and more and more of a dwarf as regards the internal, human, actually vital forces? It will do during some generations the job it has been assigned or permitted. I doubt that it can take root in the historical duration of nations.

Thus it is true that, politics being something intrinsically moral, the first political condition of good politics is that it be just. And it is true at the same time that justice and virtue do not, as a rule, lead men to success in this world, within that short time which separates the cradle from the grave, and in which success makes sense for them. But the antimony is solved, as regards human societies, because the achievement of the common good, with the conditions of material prosperity which it involves, cannot be put in jeopardy or destroyed by the use of justice, if historical duration is taken into account and if the specific effect of the use of justice is considered in itself, apart from the effects of the other factors at play.

III. THE MORAL RATIONALIZATION OF POLITICAL LIFE

THERE is another kind of rationalization of political life: not an artistic or technical, but a moral rationalization. This means the recognition of the essentially human ends of political life, and of its deepest springs: justice, law, and mutual friendship; it also means a ceaseless effort to make the living, moving structures and organs of the body politic serve the common good, the dignity of the human person, and the sense of fraternal love—to submit the huge material conditioning, both natural and technical, and the heavy setting up of conflicting interests, power and coercion inherent in social life, to the form and regulations of human reason spurring human freedom—and to base political activity not on childish greed, jealousy, selfishness, pride and guile, claims to prestige and domination transformed into sacred rules of the most serious game, but instead on a grown-up awareness of the innermost needs of mankind's life, of the real requirements of peace and love, and of the moral and spiritual energies of man.

That way of rationalizing politics was shown us by Aristotle and the great philosophers of antiquity, then by the great mediaeval thinkers. After a rationalistic stage, in which some basic errors preyed upon it, and vast illusions fostered genuine human hopes, it resulted in the democratic conception put into force during the last century.

Something particularly significant must be stressed at this point: democracy is the only way of bringing about a *moral rationalization* of politics. Because democracy is a rational organization of freedoms founded upon law.

We may appreciate from this point of view the crucial importance of the survival and improvement of democracy for the evolution and earthly destiny of mankind.

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With democracy mankind has entered the road to the only genuine, that is *moral* rationalization, of political life: in other terms, to the highest terrestrial achievement of which the rational animal is capable here below. Democracy carries in a fragile vessel the terrestrial hope, I would say the biological hope, of humanity. Of course the vessel is fragile. Of course we still are at the very first steps in the process. Of course we have paid and we are paying heavily for grave errors and moral failures. Democracy can be awkward, clumsy, defective. It can deserve the severe judgment passed upon its capacities in foreign policy by the French jurist Emile Giraud, former juridical counsellor of the League of Nations, when he wrote about the period 1919-1939 a book entitled *The Nothingness of the International Policy of Great Democracies*. Yet democracy is the only way through which the progressive energies in human history do pass.

By the same token we may also appreciate the responsibility with which democracy is burdened. We may appreciate the unique, dramatic importance of the problem of End and Means for Democracy. In the process of moral rationalization of political life, the means must necessarily be moral. The end, for democracy, is both Justice and Freedom. The use, by democracy, of means basically incompatible with justice and freedom would be to that very extent an operation of self-destruction.

Let us not be deceived, moreover, by the Machiavellian sophistry: they say that justice and respect for moral values spell weakness and doom, and that strength is strong only if raised to the supreme standard of political existence. That is a lie. Not only, as we have seen, is evil incapable of succeeding in the long run, and not only does strength without justice weaken in the long run; but here and now strength *can exist* together with justice, and the power of nations struggling for freedom can be even greater than that of nations struggling for enslavement. The second world war was a proof of that. Yet the strength itself of a democratic body politic supposes justice, because it uses human energies as energies of free men, not of slaves. Nay more: a supreme effort of all the energies of freedom, in their own spiritual realm, is needed to compensate for the momentary increase in physical strength that is given Machiavellian powers by their determination to use any means whatsoever. And such a supreme effort cannot arise if the body politic ignores moral values and standards. In reality strength is supremely strong only if not strength, but justice, is the supreme standard.

We know that the flesh is weak. It would be nonsense to require perfection and impeccability from anyone who seeks justice. We must forgive democracies for their accidental weaknesses and deficiencies. If, however, their exertions toward uprooting injustice from their own lives and toward making their means worthy of their ends were decidedly insufficient, then might history perhaps be less lenient with them than we would wish.

It is possible that the present and future course of human history will confront democracies with fearful trials and fateful alternatives. They might then be tempted to lose their reasons for living for their very lives' sake. As Henri Bergson put it, the democratic feeling and philosophy has its deepest root in the Gospel. To try to reduce democracy to technocracy, and to expel from it the Gospel inspiration together with all faith in the supra-material, supra-mathematical, and supra-sensory realities, would be to try to deprive it of its very blood. Democracy can only live on Gospel inspiration. It is by virtue of the Gospel inspiration that democracy can overcome its direst trials and temptations. It is by virtue of the Gospel inspiration that democracy can progressively carry out its momentous task of the moral rationalization of political life.

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NOW my analysis would be incomplete if I did not observe that political hypermoralism is not better than political amoralism and, in the last analysis, answers the very purpose of political cynicism. Politics is a branch of Ethics, but a branch specifically distinct from the other branches of the same stem. For human life has two ultimate ends, the one subordinate to the other: an ultimate end *in a given order,* which is the terrestrial common good, or the *bonum vitae civilis;* and an *absolute* ultimate end, which is the transcendent, eternal common good. And individual ethics takes into account the subordinate ultimate end, but *directly aims* at the absolute ultimate one; whereas political ethics takes into account the absolute ultimate end, but its *direct aim* is the subordinate ultimate end, the good of the rational nature in its temporal achievement. Hence a specific difference of perspective between those two branches of Ethics.

Thus it is that many patterns of conduct of the body politic, which the pessimists of Machiavellianism turn to the advantage of political amorality—such as the use by the State of coercive force (even of means of war in case of absolute necessity against an unjust aggressor), the use of intelligence services and methods which should never corrupt people but cannot help utilizing corrupted people, the use of police methods which should never violate the human rights of people but cannot help being rough with them, a lot of selfishness and self-assertion which would be blamed in individuals, a permanent distrust and suspicion, a cleverness not necessarily mischievous but yet not candid with regard to the other States, or the toleration of certain evil deeds by the law, the recognition of the principle of the lesser evil and the recognition of the *fait accompli* (the so-called "statute of limitations") which permits the retention of gains ill-gotten long ago, because new human ties and vital relationships have infused them with new-born rights—all of these things are in reality ethically grounded.

The fear of soiling ourselves by entering the context of history is not virtue, but a way of escaping virtue. Some seem to think that to put our hands to the real, to this concrete universe of human things and human relations where sin exists and circulates, is in itself to contract sin, as if sin were contracted from without, not from within. This is pharisaical purism: it is not the doctrine of the purification of the means.

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This doctrine primarily relates to the question of the *hierarchy of means*. It rests on the axiom that *the order of the means corresponds to that of ends*. It asks that an end worthy of man be pursued with means worthy of man. It insists first and foremost on the positive will to raise up means not only good in general, but truly proportionate to their end, truly bearing on them the stamp and imprint of their end: means in which that very justice which pertains to the essence of the common good and that very sanctification of secular life which pertains to its perfection shall be embodied.

A final remark must be made, which deals with a particularly sad aspect of human collective life. When the social group is in a process of regression or perversion, and its moral level is sinking, then the precepts of morality do not change in themselves, of course, but the manner in which they must apply sinks also to a lower level: for our moral acts are concrete acts, the moral nature or specification of which can be changed by the nature of the situation which one has to face. I am quarrelling with a man: suppose I kill him; this will be a murder. Now suppose that this same man attacks me to kill me: it is a case of self-defense; I kill him and this will not be murder. Suppose we live in a completely barbarous social group, a tribe of bandits, in which no law, no tribunals, no public order exists. Then we should have to take the law into our own hands; which means that we might be placed in the position of justly killing some offender, and that in such a case the physical act of putting that man to death would not morally constitute a murder. For the moral essence of murder is to kill a man on one's own merely human authority, whereas in such a case we should not act on our own authority, but in the performance of a judicial function to which mankind in general is virtually yet really entitled, and which derives in mankind from the Creator of being. And though in civilized life this judicial authority must be held and exercised only by those who have been invested with judicial powers in the state, nevertheless, even in civilized life, a quite exceptional case of emergency, like the case of self-defense to which I just alluded, can call any man whatever to participate in it by defending his own right to live against an unjust aggressor.

IV. THE PEOPLE'S MEANS OF CONTROL AND THE DEMOCRATIC STATE

THE second problem to be discussed is the problem of the people and the State, or of the means through which the people can supervise or control the State. That problem is not without connection with the first, because the people are naturally interested in justice, at least when passion does not blind them, whereas the State, when it becomes absolutist or despotic, sets itself above justice.

I should like to make only a few observations concerning two typically different cases: the case of a democratic State, in which freedom, law, and the dignity of the human person are basic tenets, and the rationalization of political life is sought in the perspective of moral values and norms; and the case of a totalitarian State, in which power and a certain work to be accomplished by the whole are the only things to be taken into consideration, and the rationalization of political life is sought in the perspective of merely artistic or technical values and norms.

Let us consider the case of a democratic State. Then the very control of the people over the State, even if in fact the State endeavors to escape it, is inscribed in the principles and constitutional fabric of the body politic. The people have regular, statutory means of exercising their control. They periodically choose their representatives, and either directly or indirectly their administrative officials. Not only will they remove the latter on the next polling day if they disapprove of them, but through the assemblies of their representatives, they control, supervise, or put pressure on their Administration during the time when it exercises power.

I do not mean that the assemblies should govern in the place of the executive power or the Administration. But in order to supervise, check or modify the manner in which the Administration governs, they use the various devices put at their disposal by the Constitution—the most appropriate of which, in European democracies, is to throw the present administration out of office when they are dissatisfied with its policies. Does not a patient, while not being an expert in medicine, discharge a doctor when he is dissatisfied with his treatment? With greater reason the people—in whose basic right to govern themselves those who wield authority participate—the people are governed by their government, and the people control their government; they are the final judge of its stewardship.

In the second place the people have the means—though not directly used by themselves—of the press, the radio, and the other means of expressing public opinion, when they are free. By right, freedom of the press is not of itself a limitless freedom, the State may restrict it for the sake of the common good, but as a matter of fact, and in the face of the inevitably growing power of the State, as well as of the achievements of which the totalitarian States have been capable in the world, the people obey a sound political reflex when they stick to the freedom of the press as to a sacred good and protection.

In the third place, there are the pressure groups and the other non-institutional ways through which some particular fragments in the body politic act upon governmental agencies. A procedure which after all is normal, but which, as a means of control by the people, is rather questionable. There are also the means of political agitation, pressure, or propaganda which, in certain critical moments, a group of citizens regarding themselves as the standard-bearers of the people may use, and which I should like to call flesh-and-bone means of political warfare.

Now I would state, regarding all that first order of means, even to the basic, essential means provided by the one-man-one-vote suffrage and the representative system,

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that with them the real and active participation of the people in political life still remains insufficient. In his *Reveille for Radicals,* Saul Alinsky quotes a page written by de Tocqueville in 1835, which I shall take the liberty of putting down here. "It must not be forgotten," de Tocqueville said, "that it is especially dangerous to enslave men in the minor details of life. For my own part, I should be inclined to think freedom less necessary in great things than in little ones, if it were possible to be secure of the one without possessing the other.

"Subjection in minor affairs breaks out every day, and is felt by the whole community indiscriminately. It does not drive men to resistance, but it crosses them at every turn, till they are led to surrender the exercise of their will. . . . It is vain to summon a people, which has been rendered so dependent on the central power to choose from time to time the representatives of that power; this rare and brief exercise of their free choice, however important it may be, will not prevent them from gradually losing the faculty of thinking, feeling, and acting for themselves.

"I add that they will soon become incapable of exercising the great and only privilege which remains to them. The democratic nations which have introduced freedom into their political constitution, at the very time when they were augmenting the despotism of their administrative constitution, have been led into strange paradoxes. To manage those minor affairs in which good sense is all that is wanted—the people are held to be unequal to their task; but when the government of the country is at stake, the people are invested with immense powers; they are alternately made the playthings of their ruler, and his master—more than kings, and less than men.

"It is, indeed, difficult to conceive how men who have entirely given up the habit of self-government should succeed in making a proper choice of those by whom they are to be governed; and no one will ever believe that a liberal, wise, and energetic government can spring from the suffrages of a subservient people."

Let us conclude, first, that according to the pluralist principle everything in the body politic which can be brought about by particular organs or societies inferior in degree to the State and born out of the free initiative of the people *should* be brought about by those particular organs or societies; second, that vital energy should unendingly rise from the people within the body politic. In other words the program of the people should not be offered from above to the people, and then accepted by them; it should be the work of the people. This means that at the very bottom, at a level far deeper than that of the political parties, the interest and initiative of the people in civic matters should begin with an awakening of common consciousness in the smallest local communities, and remain constantly at work there. Here we enter the field of what may be called the means of organic edification. Those activities of spontaneous growth are for the people indirect but efficacious means of supervising or controlling the democratic State, not only because they have a normal repercussion on the behavior of the political parties, but also because they create and maintain in the body politic currents of high power and mighty propensities which the State cannot ignore.

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FINALLY there is quite another order of means, of which our Western civilization is hardly aware, and which offers the human mind an infinite field of discovery —the spiritual means systematically applied to the temporal realm, a striking example of which has been Gandhi's *Satyagraha.* I should like to call them "means of spiritual warfare."

As is known, Satyagraha means "the power of Truth." Gandhi has constantly affirmed the value of the "Power of Love," or the "Power of the Soul," or the "Power of Truth" as an instrument or means of political and social action. "Patience," he said, "patience and voluntary suffering, the vindication of truth not by inflicting suffering on our opponent but on our own self" being "the arms of the strongest of the strong."

In my opinion Gandhi's theory and technique should be related to and clarified by the Thomistic notion that the principal act of the virtue of fortitude is not the act of attacking, but that of enduring, bearing, suffering with constancy. As a result it is to be recognized that there are two different orders of means of warfare (taken in the widest sense of the word), as there are two kinds of fortitude and courage, the courage that attacks and the courage that endures, the force of coercion or aggression and the force of patience, the force that inflicts suffering on others and the force that endures suffering inflicted on oneself. There you have two different keyboards that stretch along the two sides of our human nature, though the sounds they give are constantly intermingled: opposing evil through attack and coercion—a way which, at the last extremity, leads to the shedding, if need be, of the blood of others; and opposing evil through suffering and enduring—a way which, at the last extremity, leads to the sacrifice of one's own life. To the second keyboard the means of spiritual warfare belong.

Such are the means of spiritual warfare. Those means, the means peculiar to courage in enduring, *correspond* to the principal act of the virtue of fortitude, and thus are the privilege of "the strongest of the strong," as Gandhi put it. In a book written many years ago I tried to explain how, while being the most difficult, they are also by nature the most powerful means.

Gandhi himself was convinced that they can be applied in the West as they have been in the East. His own work of genius has been the systematic organization of patience and voluntary suffering as a special method or technique of political activity. Whether they follow the method of Gandhi or some method yet to be invented, men who atttach importance to spiritual values are likely to be led willy-nilly to a solution along these lines. I think that such means of spiritual warfare would be especially appropriate in three kinds of struggle: first, in the struggle of a nation dominated by another to gain its own freedom (that was the case with Gandhi himself);

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second, in the struggle of the people to maintain or gain control over the State (this concerns the issue we are here examining); third, in the struggle of Christians to transform civilization by making it actually Christian, actually inspired by the Gospel. (At this point I should like to observe that if the Christian-minded parties which appeared on the political scene after the second World War had had a deeper sense of what men expected of them, that aspect of the problem of means, the discovery of a new technique akin to Gandhi's, would from the very first have occupied their thoughts).

Coming back to our present issue, we have good reason to believe, it seems to me, that given on the one hand the normal growth—that I have so often mentioned—of the powers of the State, and the part that it necessarily plays in the achievement of social justice, on the other hand the illusory absolutist idea of itself and its so-called sovereignty with which even in democracies the State is still imbued, and which tends to make its big machinery oppressive and inhuman, the spiritual means of political warfare can provide the people with a supreme weapon to get or keep control not only of their government officials, but also of that big anonymous machinery itself. Even if they cannot know and supervise its complicated legal and administrative gears, they can confront the whole machine with the naked human strength of their patience in sustaining suffering on behalf of unyielding, just claims.

V. THE PROBLEM OF MEANS IN A REGRESSIVE OR BARBAROUS SOCIETY

I HAVE examined the question of the people's weapons with regard to the State in a democratic society. The same question must now be discussed in the case of a totalitarian State. Which will be done in no time at all! By nature the totalitarian State suppresses any means whatever for the people to control or supervise it. Not only are the people deprived of any legal or institutional means of really controlling the State—the totalitarian State is a paternalistic State, in its view the people are infants, they do not know what's good for them, it is up to the State to make them happy—but the means which I have called means of organic edification are then entirely within the grasp of the State, as well as the temporal, flesh-and-blood means of political warfare. And as for the spiritual means of political warfare, they can be reduced to nothing by the pure and simple annihilation of those who look as though they might use them. As a matter of fact, Gandhi's successes were possible only against the background of the relative freedom granted to colonials by the British administration, both by virtue of an old liberal aristocratic tradition and a mistaken cynical belief—as has been rightly remarked—in a possible utilization of Gandhi. The fate to which the inner logic of a totalitarian State tends is not a revolution which finally gives control to the people, but an ultimate disintegration by a slow rotting of human conscience within it.

All this is true, yet it does not do away with the problem of means; it makes it more serious and tragic. In order to pose it in the most extreme and striking terms, I should like to contemplate for a moment the most perfect case of political regression, namely the case of the inside life of a concentration camp—what has been called *l'univers concentrationnaire*. For Buchenwald, for instance, was not only a butchery, it was a society, a nightmare of a society, in which the conquest of power was a life-and-death issue, as the merciless struggle between the *greens* and the *reds*—that is, between the common law prisoners and the political prisoners—has shown.

Two opposite stands—the first questionable, the second simply bad—can be taken by a man forced to live in a concentrational universe. Either he can refuse to commit himself to any "political" activity, because the means to be used—spying, deceit, betrayal, co-operation with oppressors and torturers, not to speak of cruelties performed on fellow-prisoners, and indirect or direct homicide—are incompatible with the moral law; or, on the contrary, he can leave aside the moral law and accept using any kind of rotten means in order to wipe out the worst kind of torturers, to save at least a certain number of chosen people or to make preparations for some final insurrection. The first position assumes that one is confronted with a "catastrophe of the political," and that the only remaining means of activity are evangelical activities of self-purification, self-sacrifice, and fraternal love. I do not deny that such a position is justifiable, at least with regard to the possibilities or the highest calling of certain individuals. I think nevertheless that even in a concentrational universe it is not possible for man, in general, to give up any kind of political activity.

The second position assumes that the end justifies the means and that no God exists. For, as the French writer David Rousset put it in a significant book on his experiences in German concentration camps, "you cannot have moral principles playing the part of an umpire dividing bad and good means from each other unless you keep those moral principles out of historical, social relativity, and therefore find foundations for them outside the human species, that is to say, be it pleasant or not, in God." Let it be added that the one who takes the stand under discussion cannot help being himself corrupted in the long run by his total adaptation to a corrupted environment.

Thus the first position is not advisable as a rule, the second is wrong in itself. What, then, is the answer? The answer obliges us to face a most difficult problem in moral life and that sad law, which I previously pointed out, according to which the application of moral rules immutable in themselves takes lower and lower forms as the social environment declines. The moral law must never be given up, we must fasten on to it all the more as the social or political environment becomes more perverted or criminal. But the moral nature or specifi-

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cation, the moral *object* of the same physical acts, changes when the situation to which they pertain becomes so different that the inner relation of the will to the thing done becomes itself typically different. In our civilized societies it is not a murder, it is a meritorious deed for a fighting man to kill an enemy soldier in a just war. In utterly barbarized societies like a concentration camp, or even in quite particular conditions like those of clandestine resistance in an occupied country, many things which were, as to their moral nature, objectively fraud or murder or perfidy in ordinary civilized life cease, now, to come under the same definition and become, as to their moral nature, objectively permissible or ethical things. There are still, there are always good and evil actions; not every means whatever is permissible; it is still and it is always true that the end does not justify the means; moral principles keep on still and will always keep on dividing bad and good means from each other: but the line of demarcation has shifted. Conscience indeed, conscience applying principles is the actual umpire —not abstract principles seated in a Platonic heaven or in a dictionary of points of law. No written code is present, then, to help man; in a dark night full of snares it is up to one's personal conscience, reason and moral virtue to bear in each particular case the right moral judgment. In European resistance during the Second World War, the many convents which had become factories of false papers clearly knew that this manufacturing was physically but not morally a fraud. In Buchenwald not only those who professed that the end justifies the means, but Christians also, like Eugene Kogon and his friends, undertook with a certain amount of success an underground action to dodge the ferocious discipline of their jailers. And in such an underground activity a right conscience, aware of the moral law, had to divide permissible from not-permissible acts in situations unheard of in civilized life.

Let us conclude that the same considerations apply to the political means to be used in an utterly regressive, barbarized political society. Even if they were questionable with respect to situations proper to civilized life, they would remain always subject to the principles of the moral law and to the judgment of conscience enlightened by moral virtues.

Moralists are unhappy people. When they insist on the immutability of moral principles, they are reproached for imposing unlivable requirements on us. When they explain the way in which those immutable principles are to be put into force, taking into account the diversity of concrete situations, they are reproached for making morality relative. In both cases, however, they are only upholding the claims of reason to direct life.

The worst temptation for mankind, in the epochs of dark night and universal perturbation, is to give up Moral Reason. Reason must never abdicate. The task of ethics is humble but it is also magnanimous in carrying the mutable application of immutable moral principles even in the midst of the agonies of an unhappy world, as far as there is in it a gleam of humanity.

FROM ENGLAND

The Decline of Distributism

DISTRIBUTISM is the doctrine that "the political, economic and personal freedom proper to man without distinction of class or race can only be maintained when property in the means of production is widely distributed. Distributists hold that large concentrations of wealth or property are bad, and they seek to promote the revival of ownership of land, workshops etc., by individuals and are opposed to monopolies and amalgamations generally. . . ." That is how it was expressed by Eric Gill.

"The distributists' simple idea is to restore possession." That is how it was expressed by G. K. Chesterton.

Between the long and short of it there is plenty of room for disagreement about both ends and means, as the history of the distributist movement in England shows only too clearly. But it is necessary to have some sort of definition for the benefit of those readers who otherwise might not know what it is all about.

But if, further, it be asked—as I have been asked—what is the status of distributism in England today, I feel rather as if one had inquired after the health of the Levellers or the Luddites or Jeffersonian democracy. Not one Englishman in a thousand has heard of the first two, and, unless I am misinformed, it is vain to look for agrarian republicanism in New York or Chicago, Detroit or San Francisco.

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IT IS HARDLY twenty-five years since the Distributist League in England grew out of *G.K.'s Weekly,* when the sales of that paper made a sensational jump; when Belloc's *Servile State* startled people as a warning and Chesterton's *Outline of Sanity* was hailed as a practicable way out; and schemes for subsistence farming, integrated villages, land colonies and the like sprang up almost overnight.

I rarely hear the word distributism mentioned today, except occasionally when people of my age are "reminiscing" round the fire. The *Weekly Review,* successor to *G.K.'s Weekly,* died a couple of years ago, though I understand that a further successor is not impossible. An "official" distributist group exists: I am told it has had the same dozen members for years. If it still puts out any propaganda I've neither heard of nor seen it. Here and there I believe a group may still be found gallantly struggling to carry on a distributist way of life.

In her book *Gilbert Keith Chesterton,* Maisie Ward gives a brief but first-rate account of the early days of the Distributist League and distributist enthusiasm in this country, and a frank and moderate statement of

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some reasons why the movement has not "come rejoicing, carrying its sheaves."

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BESIDES those mentioned by Mrs. Sheed there were other gratuitous handicaps provided by *some* distributists themselves to the spread and popularization of their faith.

There was a very strong Catholic element among English distributists and it was exceedingly vocal. Now I am not among those who believe that a conscious or unconscious anti-Catholicism is an almost constant factor in British foreign-political judgments and certain domestic issues. But my fellow countrymen have obscure notions and very definite dislike of such things as dogmatism, intolerance and persecution (summed up in a vague concept, historically not unjustified, of "The Inquisition"). It was therefore unfortunate that some Catholic distributists (including Mr. Belloc) talked and wrote in the way they sometimes did. There is also widespread in this island a certain "puritanism," and a "seriousness" in the pursuit of good causes. If a wide appeal is to be made—especially to "small" people—this has got to be respected, even by those who do not share it. It was therefore unfortunate that distributism got mixed up with a sort of *mystique* of beer-drinking and noisy good-fellowship.

More fundamentally weakening was an excess of talk and theorizing, and the irritable quarrelling that went with it, when a world of good could have been done had more individuals and groups tried practically to implement their ideas, on however limited a scale.

But such things as I have mentioned were only contributory to the ineffectiveness of distributist effort. After all, it was not simply a movement for the elucidation of a philosophy and the encouragement of individual enterprises in accordance therewith. It was concerned with an ultimate distributist state, to the extent that its most serious internal disagreement was about whether or not the use of machinery should be abolished in such a state. The set-up of a nation can be changed in a variety of ways. British socialists have done it (in so far as they have) by constitutional political means. I am not clear as to how distributists proposed to do it. But I think probably most of them thought it would come about by force of circumstances in the impending collapse of the industrial-capitalist system in Great Britain.

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THAT collapse has never happened, at any rate in the sense of a catastrophic crash in which men had to fend for themselves. If it had, distributists were not in a position to have come to the rescue of their country as the Bolshevik minority came to the "rescue" of theirs in 1917. In such circumstances a party can triumph either by the use of well-organized force or by the support of public opinion. Such force so used would be clean contrary to distributist principles. Perhaps that justifies their concern with "talk" and propaganda. But the propaganda was not really effective. I have indicated a few reasons why, but not by any means all the reasons, or the most important. The most inclusive reason was that people were not ready for it.

In my opinion the Distributist League was before its time. In our day and generation no socio-economic-political program demands such a change of heart among masses of ordinary people as does distributism. Relatively and in its own sphere distributism resembles Christianity in this—it calls for a state of "perfection," and in some ways the same sort of perfection. A popular change of heart is notoriously a long process (short of widespread catastrophe); and if it be in the direction of unselfish, simplified and not-easy ways of life, how much longer? The history of Christianity is sufficient answer.

Nor do changes of heart take place in the isolation of a vacuum. The triumph (if so it can be called) of Christianity in the fourth century was not unaided by secular circumstances, favorable political and other conditions helped to prepare for and lead up to it. In a similar way—in reverse—distributism could not make progress against the tide in Great Britain in the earlier twentieth century, against tendencies which (except for violent revolution of one sort or another) must work themselves out. Those tendencies were towards the opposite of distributism, towards "economicism," towards an aggravated industrialism, towards socialism. Without a revolutionary dynamic, distributism is revolutionary; socialism is not. As Eric Gill wrote in an excellent passage in his *Work and Property,* "merely to transfer ownership from private persons to the state is no revolution: it is only a natural development. . . . But to abolish the proletariat and make all men owners . . . that would be a revolution in the proper sense of the word." Socialism looks so much easier than a real revolution. Socialism wants to give people what they want: Distributism wants people to want some rather different things.

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THE ALERT reader will have noticed that nowhere do I call the distributist movement a failure. Because I do not believe it has failed; I do not believe it has yet had a chance to succeed. As a formerly active distributist wrote to me recently, distributism "is still a fundamental conception, but so much so that it cannot be isolated. Like 'charity,' stable society is possible without it, but it must be too universal to organize."

We live in a "socialist" age and (again, short of a further catastrophe) that age will take its course. The more people become familiar with and disillusioned by the concentration of productive property, and other powers, in the hands of the state (for which big concentrations in the hands of combines or individuals are a preparation), the more will the idea of the *distribution* of productive property and powers become diffused abroad and integrated in human minds. And I believe that the disillusionment with socialism of ordinary men and women will be hastened, not by abstract "moral" objections, not so much by inefficiency and discomfort in practice, but by the sheer *boringness* of a socialist world.

DONALD ATTWATER.

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Unions in the South

WHAT is the matter with the South? And what can be done about it?

The 82nd Congress met on January 3rd and within four hours it had given us an example of what we can expect from it for the next two years. By 244 to 179 the House of Representatives voted to give back to the reactionary Rules Committee the power to bottle up legislation which it does not want brought to a vote on the floor of the House. Thus the will of the people is thwarted by the action of six gentlemen representing anti-labor business and the Southern doctrine of "white supremacy."

This power had been wrested from the Rules Committee during the last Congress, after the Truman victory of 1948. Among those who in 1951 voted to turn the wheels of progress backward were 152 Republicans and 92 Democrats, *almost all of the latter being from the South.* Opposed were 136 Democrats, 42 Republicans and one independent.

People have been saying, "Give the South time. It is just coming out of an agricultural economy not far removed from the feudal, slave-holding traditions of the pre-Lincoln plantation. Industry is growing up there now and with industry come the unions and the liberating influence of the unions. Give the unions time, that's all."

It looks as though the unions will need plenty of time. Al Barkan, an old friend who is director of political action for the Textile Workers, CIO, has sent in a brochure prepared by his union's attorney, Isadore Katz, who shows, in complete and horrible detail, what labor is up against in the South. It is a grim story.

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IN 1947 there were about 1,250,000 workers employed in textile mills, mostly strung along the Eastern seaboard, of whom a little over half worked in the South. The major sub-division of the textile industry is cotton spinning and weaving. In 1925 about 80% of this industry was in New England and 20% in the South. Today the figures are exactly reversed, with 80% in the South and 20% in New England.

Many New England mills have closed up and moved bodily to the South to escape the unions and their high wage rates. Others have folded up in the face of Southern competition. For more reasons than one, therefore, the Textile Workers have been forced to concentrate on the job of organizing the Southern mills. They have spent several million dollars on the job and have conducted about 60 strikes in the last five years. And still only 15%, or less than 100,000 of these workers, are now represented by either the CIO or AFL.

Consider some of the difficulties. In 1948 there were about 770 mills located in small Southern villages which were owned in toto by the mill-owners. If the workers went on strike the mill-owner would simply evict them from their homes, pointing self-righteously to his lease, which specifies that the occupant must work in the local mill. If the union fought this outrage in court, there was usually a local judge who could see only that each tenant "refused to work for the plaintiff, quit his job and walked off." No mention of a strike at all. Case dismissed. (See case of Plymouth Manufacturing Co. strike, McColl, South Carolina, 1949.)

Often the mill was owned by a large textile corporation which also owned anywhere from 10 to 44 (Burlington Mills) other factories. It could well afford to close one mill for a year or even forever. Many of these corporations are owned by Northerners, including such big outfits as Goodyear, Firestone, U. S. Rubber, who do not hesitate to inflame every conceivable Southern prejudice in order to lick the union and fatten their own money bags.

Not only the courts, but the newspapers, radio stations and even the churches have often sold themselves body and soul to the mill owners. Last March the CIO set out to organize the Orr Mill in Anderson, South Carolina. A columnist in the local paper bristled with bigoted indignation, saying, "Yet from the so-called 'melting pots' of the Northern cities, where people of strange races and imbued with alien ideologies are blended together to produce all manner of men, including numerous arrogant mongrels, come emissaries of misinformation and hate to tell textile workers in this section of America what they should think, believe and do."

The only false note in this is that the Orr Mill is owned and operated by M. Loewenstein & Sons of New York City.

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I HAVE seen photostatic copies of four letters sent by different mill-owners to their employees just before the latter were to vote in a bargaining election. They were all obviously based on one master letter prepared by some specialist in lies and bigotry. As follows: "Who are the men who run this Union anyway? I will name some of its officers to you: Baldanzi, Rieve, Chupka, Genis, Jabor, Knapik and Rosenburg. Where do you think these men came from and where do they live? Are their backgrounds, upbringing, viewpoints, beliefs and principles anything like yours and mine?"

These questions, in identical words, were asked by J. McD. Moore of Dacotah Cotton Mills in Lexington, N. C., on Jan. 17, 1949, and by C. B. Hayes of Pacific Mills (owns ten mills throughout the South) two months later. I happen to know some of the gentlemen mentioned and for the information of Messrs. Moore and Hayes I can assure them that "the viewpoints, beliefs and principles" of these CIO officials are so far superior to their own that I cannot risk a comparison

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without saying something that would offend against either good taste or Christian charity, or both.

Here are some lines that are almost identical in three letters: "What can it (the union) accomplish for you? . . . Even if this union were in here, there is no way whatever that it could force this company to do anything except by pulling you out on strike. . . . And this company has no intention of yielding to any such pressure as that. . . . A strike means trouble and dissension, lost work and lost pay. . . ."

At several elections in Georgia the forces arrayed against the CIO circulated a four-page, illustrated leaflet which included a picture of the daughter of John L. Lewis and two Negroes. Over the picture large black letters cried out: "DON'T LET THIS HAPPEN TO YOU OR YOUR FAMILY!" and underneath: "Don't let your WIFE or DAUGHTER or SISTER be found in the position of the woman in the picture above—Defeat the CIO."

Miss Lewis was not embracing either of the Negroes, as you might be led to expect. She was simply sitting between them at a dinner table. Thank God neither the CIO nor the AFL nor the United Mine Workers have ever endorsed the principle that to sit down at the same table with a Negro is something unclean.

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TO THIS point I have summarized less than half of the Textile Workers' case against the South. The second half tells what happens when and if the CIO should overcome all these obstacles and still win a collective bargaining election. Then the agony really starts. Here is a case which is only somewhat more painful than the average. It involves the Tower Hosiery Mills, a subsidiary of Burlington Mills, the giant that owns 45 mills and is the second largest employer of textile labor in the South. Note the time-table: 1943—union wins election, but does not feel strong enough to strike and no agreement results; 1944—union loses election; 1945—union wins election; 1946—again unable to negotiate a decent agreement, union files charge of failure to bargain in good faith; 1947 (14 mos. later)—National Labor Relations Board gets around to holding a hearing; 1948 (1 year later)—Trial Examiner makes report; 1949 (11 mos. later) NLRB agrees with union and orders Tower Hosiery to bargain in good faith; 1950 (13 mos. later) U. S. Court of Appeals rejects company's appeal and sustains the NLRB. The Textile Workers attorney concludes sadly, "Of course no contract has been consummated. Indeed there is now no local union at this plant."

One is reminded of the old saw, "The operation was successful, but the patient died." The National Labor Relations Act, even as amended by Taft-Hartley, is supposed to protect labor's right to organize and bargain in good faith. In the South this protection is a mockery, and indeed not only in the South. In the North as well. In my own local union we have just passed through negotiations in which two employers openly and unashamedly committed unfair labor practices. But knowing that any appeal to the NLRB would take several years to process, we could do nothing but take it.

The Southern industrialists no longer need the goon squad in white sheets, the tar-and-feathers, the free ride out of town on a fence rail that were so popular a few years back. They use them too, occasionally, even now, but today the better class of people doesn't soil its fingers with such vulgarity. Today they hire a high-priced lawyer and strangle the union to death with legal red-tape and delay, to which homicide the Taft-Hartley Act lends itself with glad abandon.

They say that "justice delayed is justice denied." The Textile Workers filed 165 charges of unfair labor practices against Southern mills with the NLRB between Aug. 22, 1947 and Feb. 28, 1950. From the time the charges were filed these were the average periods of time before they could get action from the Labor Board and the Courts: about 12 mos. before the NLRB issued a complaint; about 1 yr., 4 mos. before the NLRB held a hearing before a trial examiner; about 1 yr. 6 mos. before the examiner made his report; 2 yrs. 3 mos. before the Board handed down an order; 3 yrs. 8 mos. before the courts forced compliance in those few cases that the union was able and willing to push this far.

★

WHAT is to be done? And when we speak of what is to be done, first of all, let us not, we in the North, give way to self-righteous feelings of superiority toward the South. We suffer from all the sins that Southerners are heir to. It is only that up here, thanks to circumstance, and no credit of our own, some of these sins are not as fashionable as they remain in the South.

You can send money to the Textile Workers, 99 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y., if you want, so that they will not get discouraged, but will continue the good fight, a fight which must win in the end. You can, someday, elect some sensible Congressmen so that we can have labor laws and a system of labor boards that will process grievances fast and will have the teeth to force compliance—fast.

There are many things that must be done and many of them can only be done by the Southerners themselves. What we need as much as anything are more Christian missionaries to teach the Southerners something about Christianity, to help such organizations as the Catholic Committee of the South and men like Father Drolet. I can think of no better place for such missionaries to go than into the Southern mills. Let them try to organize a union as a practical demonstration of what Christianity means, as a practical demonstration of how men can rise to that life of freedom and dignity and brotherhood without which the fullness of Christianity is impossible. Do you fancy yourself as a martyr? That too you may very well find in the South. It's too tough a prospect for me, but I commend it highly to any young, unmarried, strong-souled Catholic who wants to do something substantial for the Kingdom of God.

JOHN C. CORT.

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The Stage

DARKNESS AT NOON

THE INTEREST and the distinction of the Arthur Koestler book on which this play is based lay in the cold, impersonal clarity with which it worked out an intellectual problem: how is it that an old-line revolutionist who is repelled by current Communist practice can nevertheless be brought to confess to crimes he has not committed—to accept, quite voluntarily, disgrace and death at the hands of a system he abhors? Mr. Koestler was making an effort to understand, and to help us understand, the public confessions of the Moscow 'purge' trials. We would normally suppose these abject and sometimes absurd recantations to have been accomplished by torture and drugs. Mr. Koestler's point was that physical intimidation was either unnecessary or ineffectual: that a revolutionary theorist can best be reached through theory, through the very dialectic which led him to Marxism in the first place. To make this point, Koestler showed his central character, Rubashov, being slowly stripped of physical and emotional sensitivity until his mind was concerned with dialectic alone; in this labyrinth he could find justification for anything, even his own destruction. To emphasize the intellectual nature of the process, Koestler rigidly avoided the dramatic scene as such, cutting away from it before it could take an emotional turn, and referring to it later only in a detached and casual way. In the book, this insistent dismissal of all normal human values had the effect of shock; in the theatre, it has the unlucky but not entirely unexpected effect of aridity.

What is possible to the printed page is not always possible to the theatre, even when the attempted transfer is made by someone with Sidney Kingsley's skill. While drama is perfectly capable of projecting complex psychological states—as in "Othello" or in the best work of Racine—it does so in relation to a growing emotional turbulence which finally flares into covert violence. Its structural line is always one of increasing passion, never of increasingly dispassionate intellectuality. So far as the stage is concerned, Mr. Koestler's book is written backwards, and Sidney Kingsley must approach it under a double difficulty: his material denies him the rising emotional intensity which the stage is particularly equipped to exploit; and his medium denies him the room, the time, and the omnipresence needed to record subtle subjective processes. To have changed Mr. Koestler's method, which is inherently anti-dramatic, would have been to destroy its meaning, and Mr. Kingsley has not changed it, save for a mild, irrelevant, and wholly unhelpful accenting of the love story. The result, in spite of a brilliant physical production and a heroic performance by Claude Rains, is a theatrical experience more exhausting than exciting, more frustrating than re-

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vealing. One could only wish it well on entering the theatre, and despair of it on leaving.

Ironically, the very ingenuity of the physical production conspires further against Koestler, Kingsley, and Rains. Supposing that the purely mental struggle could be projected at all, it would have to be done through a ruthless concentration on the figure of Rubashov—again more or less in the manner of Racine—so that the mind of Rubashov could at all times dominate the stage. Instead, the stage is so banked with tiers of prison cells, so flanked by moving wagons and sliding shutters, that Mr. Rains, far from being able to employ the modulations and inflections which would suggest elusive mental processes, is forced to strain every muscle to compete with a mountain of scenery. How much this robs Mr. Rains of his particular virtues as an actor is seen toward the end of the play, when he speaks briefly and quietly into a microphone. It is the most expressive and moving moment of the evening. (*At the Alvin*)

THE ROYAL FAMILY

IT IS INTERESTING to notice that the farces of ten to twenty years ago stand up much better than the straight dramatic successes of the same period. Where "They Knew What They Wanted" becomes pale and faintly preposterous in production today, "Twentieth Century" seems actually to have improved. Apparently "Twentieth Century" is no isolated case. City Center has just given a two-week revival to "The Royal Family," a Kaufman-Ferber contribution to 1927, and it turns out to be perfectly vigorous and funny in the hard light of 1951. I am expecting any day to be freshly regaled with "The Butter and Egg Man." Just why American humor should prove so much more substantial than American seriousness, I don't know. It may simply be that the broad strokes of farce are sufficiently unrealistic to resist the inevitable dating which overtakes our more meticulously realistic drama. Or it may have something to do with a moral immaturity which renders our serious efforts sentimental and pretentious when viewed from a little distance, but which does nothing at all to interfere with our talent for horseplay. Whatever the cause, the Kaufman-Abbott-Hecht school bids fair to outlive the Pulitzer-Prize contingent. (*Closed at City Center*)

WALTER KERR.

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The Screen

HOLD YOUR BREATH

THIS WEEK the movies are asking you to take a deep breath and go under the sea with the various members of their casts. It's odd sometimes how films come out in bunches. Perhaps we're in for a trend of underwater pictures; but I really think the sudden current release of films about submarines and their crews is only a happenstance. In the January 19 issue of THE COMMONWEAL, I reviewed "The Flying Missile," a rather dull lecture in cinematic form about the experiments of various naval men in launching guided missiles from submarines. Now we have three new movies, of various entertainment levels, that go out of their way to show that fortitude is just as necessary under water as it is on land.

My favorite of the three is *"Operation Disaster,"* which was known under the less hair-raising title of "Morning Departure" in England where it was made. Jay Lewis has given his film an excellent production; and Director Roy Baker has done an amazing job of getting motion and action in his limited sets. The plot has to do mainly with the crew of H.M. Submarine *Trojan* who go out one fine morning shortly after World War II for Asdic exercises—a drill that promises to be dull. But events turn out quite differently when the sub runs into an electrically operated mine left over from the war. After the explosion, the sub sinks to the sea bed 90 feet below; and only 12 men survive. The tensions that arise when the plans are made for the escape of *some* of these men are as exciting as anything the movies have cooked up in the way of plot.

Actually "Operation Disaster" is a very, very British picture, and if you belong to the school who are rubbed the wrong way by British reserve and formality, you'd better avoid this movie. But if you believe men are men no matter how politely they say "Thank you, sir," even under extreme distress, you'll find this picture will work you up into a lather of suspense. While "Operation Disaster" is in its way a thriller, it is also a stirring commentary on man's ability to face life—and to face death as part of life's scheme.

★

I'M SURE the makers of *"Operation Pacific"* had the best of intentions in putting together a submarine film that would honor the 3,500 officers and men who were lost in submarine warfare during World War II. But their greatest mistake was in loading this movie so heavily with submarine heroics and excitement that the audience just doesn't believe any of it. Director-writer George Waggner obviously based his script on factual data, but in piling all his data into one movie, he overgilded the submarine. Furthermore he gave the hopped-

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up story a subplot that only gets in the way of real excitement.

Every time our hero, stalwartly played by John Wayne, gets back to Pearl Harbor from one of his breathless encounters with the Japs, he runs into his divorced wife (Patricia Neal) with whom he is still very much in love. She loves him too, I guess—or so we are supposed to believe, because the kisses of her current suitor (Philip Carey) don't have quite the zing for her that Wayne's frequently administered kisses have. The script is awfully hazy about this divorce of some four years ago; it seems that Patricia got jealous of submarines and walked out on John because he loved subs more than he did her. Or something like that. Well, anyway, Patricia's current suitor blames John when John's commanding officer (Ward Bond) is killed by the Japs; but later in a big Pacific battle scene, John's submarine rescues the younger man when his plane is downed in the sea. It is supposed to be obvious from all this that John is the better man—and so of course Patricia welcomes him back to Pearl Harbor with open arms. "Operation Pacific" is really about submarines and the exciting and heroic events that take place on them; but what with story et al the picture takes up about two hours of your time; and full well may you wonder why.

★

THE THIRD movie, *"Mystery Submarine,"* pretends to be nothing more than a thriller about a German U-boat that is up to no good—even though World War II is long over. Its story is told in a series of long flashbacks. Marta Toren and MacDonald Carey, in their attempts to clear Marta of charges of treason against the United States, finally prove their points while you sit through a fantastic (and not very imaginative) plot about this submarine and its commander (Robert Douglas) who has kidnapped a famous refugee scientist. It becomes difficult to take any of the film's story seriously and as it goes from bad to worse you wonder why this good cast was wasted on it. Surely submarines don't have some hidden attraction that the Freudian boys haven't figured out yet.

★

THAT WATERY MOVIES do have an attraction for audiences, however, has been proven at many a box-office. Esther Williams' continued popularity is neither a myth nor an exaggeration. In her newest effort she swims not only expertly under water, but also in the sky—in one of the strangest dream sequences ever dreamed up by movie makers. *"Pagan Love Song"* is a little different from most of the Williams' vehicles, however, in that it kids itself and its genre every now and then; and if it had carried its kidding a little further, it could have been a very funny comedy. Howard Keels uses his good voice and handsome torso to advantage in this Technicolor concoction that is complete with Tahitian natives and moonlit dances; and Miss Williams really swims beautifully. And you may ask with the script: "Who is to say where fact ends and fantasy starts?"

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

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Books

My Six Convicts, A Psychologist's Three Years in Fort Leavenworth. Donald Powell Wilson. Rinehart. $3.50.

THIS BOOK is written by a professor of psychology who spent three years in one of the big prisons studying, under a Public Health Service project, the relations of drug-addiction to criminality. The author reports not on the results of his research, but on the personalities of six convicts who became his collaborators. He tells about their behavior, their lives, their attitudes, and of many other things, such as events in the jail, proposed reforms and other reforms which have already been carried out. He is sharply critical of many aspects of American penology and of the manner in which "justice" is meted out. He stresses the necessity of giving still greater attention to the problem of rehabilitation or re-education instead of viewing imprisonment merely as a retaliation.

In one chapter he has an interesting comparison of English and American procedures. The number of inmates in English prisons has diminished notably so that many prisons have become superfluous. One of the main reasons is that England introduced the payment of fines on the "instalment plan," that is, a man not able to pay his fine at once is allowed to pay it in successive parts. Whereas in the US he has either to pay or go to jail.

The book is fascinating reading. Not only does the reader receive an insight into the way a prison works, but he comes to learn much about the mentality of its inmates; he also is given a clear picture of the social and personal factors leading to a criminal life and realizes with shocking clarity the guilt society and its institutions must assume for creating the conditions for crime. Perhaps the author is a little too much what he calls himself in the last line of his book: "a sucker for these boys." But even if one feels like subtracting something from his statements, there remains enough to shock the reader out of his thoughtlessness and complacency.

Professor Wilson lists a number of personality factors which he calls "not criminal in content but neurotic." Criminals are emotionally immature and unstable. They are self-reflective egotists. Their sense of values is either absent or badly distorted. They are mentally and emotionally inflexible and impoverished and incapable of learning by experience. They rationalize, project, and compartmentalize to relieve themselves of personal responsibility for their conduct. They are filled with anti-social aggressions, sometimes justifiably, and therefore they hold a philosophy of "me against the world." They have no self-respect and "cultivate a ludicrous sense of superiority through lying, deceit, and paranoia." Although boastful of alleged experience, they are sexually inadequate. The author notes that his conclusions are based on the observations he could make himself. He does not wish to generalize.

One question may be raised. That these traits are found in many criminals is beyond doubt. But are they found only in criminals? If not, then the chance of rehabilitation by mental treatment seems to be less good; at least, treatment would have to be complemented by a moral education. It is obvious that this cannot be done by admonishing or preaching, but requires a thorough reëducation of the total personality. It seems, indeed, that the tendencies of modern penology point in this direction. The misfortune is that these tendencies have not yet become fully effective.

The book is written in a lively manner, in a style rare with professors of psychology. It presents its main figures so that they become quite real. To read it is enjoyable; to ponder its facts and suggestions, imperative. Some may feel that not enough consideration is given to the possibility of religious factors being of assistance in the task of rehabilitation. But the author writes as a psychologist and as such may be forgiven a remark here and there which is not quite according to fact, especially when he occasionally wanders off into the field of history. On the whole, however, it is a work which ought to give much thought to legislators, sociologists, and students of human affairs.

RUDOLF ALLERS.

Rommel, The Desert Fox. Desmond Young. Harper. $3.50.

FIELD Marshal Erwin Rommel, one of the most extraordinary figures of World War II, seemed destined always to fall short of greatness. Often he almost achieved it himself, and on at least one occasion it was almost thrust upon him, but each time some important element was lacking.

The tactical genius and professional military chivalry that earned Rommel British respect and admiration in North Africa were tainted by the baseness of the cause they served. His sudden and unexplained departure for Europe during the German retreat to Cape Bon marred what was otherwise, in strictly military terms, an honorable defeat by overwhelmingly superior forces. The celebrated break with Hitler was more practical than philosophical, and there is little evidence that he was outraged by Nazi barbarity. He was part of the conspiracy against the Fuehrer, it is true, but he appears to have backed into it, with somewhat less of the high purpose of the other plotters. He was chosen by the group, without his knowledge, to head the German state when Hitler had been done in, and paid with his life for having been picked. Even in death—difficult as it is to pass judgment on a man who was given the choice of suicide or a trial by the infamous people's Court—he seemed to fall short of heroism.

Desmond Young, a former general in the Eighth Army, and onetime prisoner of the Afrika Korps, is admiring but not worshipful in this authentic, excellently written biog-

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raphy. He has applied a journalist's curiosity, a British sense of fair play, and a soldier's propensity for shop talk to the life of a man whose skill and personal courage were legendary. The result is curiously exciting, but as much for the behind-the-scenes military and political details revealed as for Rommel's personal history. One can admire professional competence and valor in any field —generalship, boxing, or nuclear physics—but it is a man's basic humanity that supplies the richness to his life story, and Rommel's is never fully brought out.

Since the North African campaign was almost entirely a British (and Commonwealth) show, and the occasion for some of their most brilliant victories, against a man whose "ardour and daring" were twice publicly saluted by Churchill, the book's large sale in England is understandable. But it leaves one with the uneasy impression that too many people still look on war as something of a dangerous international sport. The inevitable accidents are to be tempered by generous and courteous exchanges between gallant officers of both sides. This is an expensive tradition, and one that has a kind of grisly quaintness in view of the nature of our past and present struggles. Fortunately, the general now organizing the defense of the West scorns that tradition, in so far as it goes beyond the Geneva Convention rules for treatment of war prisoners. Young disagrees with Eisenhower's view, which he quotes fully, but at least respects it.

PAUL V. FARRELL.

The Green and the Red. Jules Koslow. Golden Griffin Books. $3.90.

THIS 119-page analysis of Sean O'Casey's plays is presented by the publisher in what seems to me a considerably overdressed form. It is printed in italics on an oversize page and supplied with marginal guides so copious as to tempt one to read the text as a guide to the marginalia. The essay itself, not really of book length or density, is well enough written, but it confines itself so discreetly to outlining the narrative of each play, to clarifying certain symbols in the later plays, and to the dispassionate recording of various critical reactions to the controversial plays, as to have very little interpretative value of its own. There is no doubt a certain usefulness in the volume by way of quick reference, but not the $3.90 worth that the format demands, and the author does very little that the conscientious student could not have more fun doing for himself.

The title leads one to expect a study in contrasts: between the content and quality of O'Casey's work in the Irish period, when he was living in Dublin and writing explicitly of the life he knew, and that of his English period, when he was an expatriate increasingly concerned with social generalities, moral and political abstractions, and the Communist romance. So far as Mr. Koslow permits himself an interpretation, he sees

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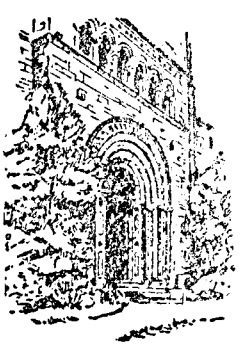

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more continuity than contrast in the two periods, and he is able to show that O'Casey's interest in the proletariat, socialism, unionism, and the evils of slum life existed from the beginning. The emphasis on continuity, however, tends to override important practical differences between these periods: the plays of the first are concrete, clear, human, and theatrically rewarding; the later plays are by comparison diffuse, erratic, rhetorical, and largely unmanageable in the theatre.

Whatever the continuity of O'Casey's interests, his method has undergone a change so radical as to invert nearly every point of technique, and to alter completely his position as a practicing playwright. Flashes of brilliance continue to illuminate the later plays, and it remains almost impossible for O'Casey to write a bad line; but he has perversely set himself to the task of making his plays jungles of form. It is not simply that he has made them difficult, so as to require further explication of his symbols; he has made them arrogantly indifferent to the fair demands of his craft and his audience.

Mr. Koslow refers to this movement as one of widening horizons, when it might as justly be called one of narrowing appeal. In any event, to treat the later work as though it were an extension, rather than a reversal, of the earlier, and as though it had the same importance for the living theatre, is to fail to deal with the facts. O'Casey was a practicing artist of the first rank, and his transition from the 'green' to the 'red' had an effect on his work other than a simple expansion of vision. A realistic study of this effect remains to be made.

WALTER KERR.

The Poor Man's Prayer. George Boyle. Harper. $2.50.

CO-OPS have not enjoyed a good press in the country—partly because they are essentially gradualistic. What is there to fire the imagination about operating a grocery store in order to supply customers with good quality at a slight saving? Organizing credit unions, to encourage the homeliest of virtues and enable needy people to borrow without collateral, vital as it is, seldom provides good copy either. But I wonder if cooperative leaders are not also to blame: they are vague about ultimate objectives, overemphatic about statistical gains and remiss in not presenting their case in terms of living people.

The Poor Man's Prayer presents the credit union movement in terms of its founder in North America, Alphonse Desjardins, who determined early in life to do something about the poverty and degradation of some of his neighbors. It was his wife, Dorimène, who kept the first credit union going in their home at Lévis, across the St. Lawrence from Quebec. His job as official Parliament reporter (at $2,000 per annum) kept Alphonse in Ottawa six months of the year. Neighbors with their weekly quarters and dimes to deposit kept knocking at the door all day long; yet Mme. Desjardins also had her own large household to look after. This is the situation in the novelized biography in which George Boyle has attempted to give the dimension of flesh and sinew to a movement which before its founder's death in 1920 had in the Province of Quebec alone enrolled 31,000 members and built up over six millions in assets. The figures have multiplied considerably since then.

Several scenes from this inspiring story—which almost tells itself—persist in my memory. One takes place in a neighborhood bakery with Alphonse at the age of six crimson with shame when they would not sell him any bread for the five cents his mother was able to scrape up.

Some thirty years later Alphonse goes to consult a noted specialist in Montreal; he has been laid flat for months by a mysterious ailment. In the waiting room he encounters one Henry Treeser, who pours out a tale of personal disaster. It seems that Henry has been sick for two years. When his savings were gone he went to a loan company which in the end wrested his farm (and his livelihood) from him. And it was all because Henry was ashamed to ask for money from his neighbors. This fortuitous encounter supplies the final answer to Alphonse's lifelong quest for a means of doing something for his hard-pressed fellow-men. He would organize credit unions based on European models.

In addition to these homely scenes are the brief encounters of this selfless man with such figures as Archbishop Bégin of Montreal and Earl Grey, Governor General of Canada. Both intervened in his behalf at moments crucial for the movement because of the sheer merit of the way he was helping others.

Mr. Boyle has personalized this, too, by introducing a young woodsman named Paul who with only a season's meager earnings as a starter is enabled to buy a farm and settle down with the comely Sandra to an abundant life. This is not great art perhaps but, except for one or two theoretical discussions, the author, in his fervor and admiration, has made it all seem real.

EDWARD S. SKILLIN.

The Spirit of Love. C. F. Kelley. Harper. $3.50.

MR. KELLEY WRITES of the central doctrine of St. Francis' teaching—a book about returning the love of God and about the gentle Bishop of Geneva himself. St. Francis de Sales is believed to have surpassed all other modern saints in the direction of souls, and his teachings speak to people of all walks of life, of every degree of sanctity. "Salesian spirituality," says Jacques Maritain in his Introduction to the book, "will reveal many men of our times to themselves."

• REVIEWERS •

RUDOLF ALLERS, author of *The Successful Error,* is a member of the Georgetown University faculty.

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Idea for a Magazine V

THE Church has no mission to solve directly technical problems. She recognizes the legitimate autonomy of competent authorities. She does not enmesh herself in any scientific, social or political system; and she leaves Christians free in their choices and researches. These have their own methods and their own defined objectives.

This distinction is indispensable in order to avoid all confusion of realms. People must not expect from the Church what she cannot and ought not achieve; she animates everything but she does not herself fashion civilization. She is not going to project the structures of tomorrow. She respects too much the rights and the free initiative of man.

Christians, however, can and should do what she herself cannot do. Because they are also of this world, they have as much right as others to take part in seeking the truth, to engage in all controversies and transformations of the City in which they are citizens. The "children of light" are too often less clever than the "sons of darkness." This condition does not spring from any precept of the Lord. To be late with an idea may be a fact, it is not a virtue.

EMMANUEL CARDINAL SUHARD.

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